

## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY EUR/WE:JGKERR:MMS  
APPROVED BY EUR/WE:RPPAGANELLI  
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AF/S:LMCFARLAND  
AF/E:GSCOTT

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 196441

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP, XA

SUBJECT: UPCOMING DISCUSSION WITH PRIME MINISTER REGARDING  
AFRICA

REF: MADRID 8591

FOLLOWING IS BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON DEVELOPMENTS IN  
US-AFRICAN RELATIONS IN RESPONSE TO REFTEL. DEPARTMENT  
WOULD LIKE TO ENCOURAGE SPANISH INTEREST IN DIALOGUE ON  
AFRICA, THUS WOULD BE INTERESTED IN LEARNING OF SPANISH  
VIEWS ON THE VARIOUS POLITICAL ISSUES IN AFRICA. STATE  
IS PREPARED TO RESPOND TO FURTHER SPANISH REQUESTS FOR DIS-  
CUSSION ON ISSUES OF SPECIFIC INTEREST TO THEM.

THE FOLLOWING SECTIONS HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED BY:AF/C:RGRIBBON,  
ISSUE 1; AF/E:GSCOTT, ISSUE 2; AF/S:LMCFARLAND, ISSUES 3  
AND 4.

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ISSUE - EQUATORIAL ;UINEA

U.S. OBJECTIVE: TO OBTAIN SPANISH ASSESSMENT OF SITUATION  
IN EQUATORIAL GUINEA.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS:

THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT SUSPENDED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THEIR FORMER COLONY IN MARCH 1977 FOLLOWING AN INSULTING ATTACK ON KING JUAN CARLOS BY PRESIDENT MASIE NGUEMA. THIS DOWNWARD TURN WAS FURTHER ACCENTUATED BY THE GOS DECISION NOT TO RENEW AT EXPIRATION AN IBERIAN AIRCRAFT MAINTENANCE CONTRACT IN MARCH 1978 AND THE EXPULSION OF LAST SIX ACTIVE SPANISH PRIESTS IN LATE JUNE. ABOUT 300 SPANISH CITIZENS REMAIN IN THE COUNTRY AND THE SPANISH EMBASSY (OUR PROTECTING POWER) IS OPERATED ON A CARE-TAKER BASIS BY NON-DIPLOMATIC PERSONNEL.

THE U.S. SUSPENDED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN MARCH 1976 AND WE HAVE NOT HAD A RESIDENT MISSION SINCE 1971. ALL FORMS OF ASSISTANCE HAVE LONG SINCE BEEN TERMINATED. TRADE WITH EQUATORIAL GUINEA IS VIRTUALLY NIL. WE HAVE LITTLE ABILITY UNILATERALLY TO INFLUENCE THE SITUATION IN EQUATORIAL GUINEA, BUT FULLY SUPPORT MULTILATERAL EFFORTS, SUCH AS THE CURRENT INVESTIGATION BY THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, AS MEANS OF BRINGING PRESSURE ON THE MACIE REGIME. ON JULY 6, 1978 THE DEPARTMENT DECIDED TO VOTE "NO" ON A PROPOSED \$5.6 MILLION AFRICAN BANK DEVELOPMENT FUND LOAN FOR THE REHABILITATION OF COCOA PLANTATIONS.

POINTS TO BE MADE:

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-- NOTE APPRECIATION FOR THE EXCELLENT COORDINATION AND SHARING OF INFORMATION ON E.G. BETWEEN MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND EMBASSY. WE FIND SUCH EXCHANGES USEFUL.

-- REQUEST LATEST ASSESSMENT OF MACIE'S REGIME, AND SPANISH INTENTIONS TOWARD IT.

-- CONFIRM THAT U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO STRONGLY OPPOSE MACIE GOVERNMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS GROUNDS.

-- FOR EXAMPLE, WE SUPPORT THE FEBRUARY 1978 U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION DECISION TO STUDY THE MACIE GOVERNMENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE. WE HOPE THIS WILL LEAD TO A FORMAL CONDEMNATION. SIMILARLY, WE WILL OPPOSE \$5.6 MILLION AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FUND LOAN TO E.G.

-- CONFIRM THAT U.S. HAS NO PLANS TO CONSIDER THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

ISSUE 2 - SOVIET AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

OUR BEST INFORMATION IS THAT THERE ARE STILL SOME 17,000 CUBAN PERSONNEL, INCLUDING COMBAT TROOPS, IN ETHIOPIA, AND SOMETHING OVER 1,000 SOVIET ADVISORY PERSONNEL. CUBAN ADVISORY PERSONNEL ARE PRESENT IN ERITREA, AND CUBAN PILOTS HAVE FLOWN SOME COMBAT MISSIONS THERE, BUT WE HAVE NO INDICATION THAT CUBAN COMBAT UNITS SUCH AS WERE INVOLVED IN THE OGADEN FIGHTING HAVE BEEN MOVED TO ERITREA.

US POSITION: WE BELIEVE THAT THE CONTINUED SOVIET/CUBAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA IS INAPPROPRIATE FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS:

-- IT IS CONTRARY TO THE AFRICAN PRINCIPLE THAT REGIONAL PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED BY THE AFRICANS THEMSELVES;  
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-- IT TEMPTS GOVERNMENTS TO SEEK MILITARY SOLUTIONS TO WHAT ARE ULTIMATELY POLITICAL PROBLEMS WHICH CAN ONLY BE FULLY RESOLVED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS;

-- IT IS POTENTIALLY A HIGHLY DESTABILIZING INFLUENCE IN THE REGION AS A WHOLE;

-- FURTHER, THE OSTENSIBLE JUSTIFICATION FOR THE LARGE SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE, THE FIGHTING BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA IN THE OGADEN, HAS ENDED;

-- FINALLY, IN THE CASE OF CUBA, WE QUESTION WHETHER CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN SUCH SITUATIONS IN CLOSE CONCERT WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS CONSISTENT WITH CUBA'S PROFESSED NON-ALIGNMENT.

US ACTIONS REGARDING SOVIET/CUBAN INVOLVEMENT:

WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO BOTH MOSCOW AND HAVANA THAT WE BELIEVE SOVIET-SUPPORTED CUBAN INTERVENTION IN AFRICAN PROBLEMS IS INAPPROPRIATE. SUCH SOVIET CONDUCT INEVITABLY AFFECTS THE ATMOSPHERE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS GENERALLY-- INCLUDING THE ATMOSPHERE FOR US PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF A NEW SALT AGREEMENT SHOULD THESE NEGOTIATIONS BE CONCLUDED SUCCESSFULLY. THIS IS NOT A MATTER OF THE US CREATING A "LINKAGE" -- IT IS ONE OF THE REALITIES OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS WITH WHICH WE, AND THEY, MUST DEAL.

WE WILL OBVIOUSLY CONTINUE TO MONITOR SOVIET AND CUBAN CONDUCT VERY CLOSELY, AND TO EXPRESS OUR VIEWS AND CONSULT WITH OTHERS AS APPROPRIATE. WE ALWAYS RESERVE THE RIGHT TO TAKE ACTION IN SPECIFIC SITUATIONS IF THIS APPEARS  
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CALLED FOR, BUT DON'T WANT TO LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT DIRECT US INVOLVEMENT IN ANY PARTICULAR SITUATION IS LIKELY.

ISSUE 3 - NAMIBIA:

-- ON JULY 27, THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ADOPTED TWO RESOLUTIONS ON NAMIBIA WHICH REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT MILESTONE IN THE EFFORTS OF THE WESTERN FIVE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (US, CANADA, UK, FRG, AND FRANCE) TO ACHIEVE NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE PEACEFULLY AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385 OF JANUARY 1976.

-- THE ACTIVE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION OF THE FRONT LINE STATES WAS AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT.

-- DESPITE THE RESERVATIONS EXPRESSED BY SWAPO AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS, WE BELIEVE THAT THEY AND ALL OTHER INVOLVED PARTIES WILL COOPERATE WITH THE UN IN THE TRANSITION PROCESS.

-- WE EXPECT THAT A UN SURVEY TEAM HEADED BY THE SYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, MARTTI AHTISAARI, WILL ARRIVE IN NAMIBIA THIS WEEKEND. WE HOPE THAT PREPARATIONS WILL MOVE FAST ENOUGH TO PERMIT PRESENTATION OF A DRAFT MANDATE FOR THE UN TRANSITION ASSISTANCE GROUP (UNTAG) TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL LATER THIS MONTH.

-- THE DEPLOYMENT OF UNTAG TO NAMIBIA COULD BEGIN IN EARLY SEPTEMBER; WE ANTICIPATE THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL LAST AT LEAST EIGHT MONTHS.

-- IT WILL REQUIRE THE GOOD WILL AND BEST EFFORTS OF ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED TO ENSURE SUCCESS. THE US WILL WORK WITH OTHERS IN GIVING FULL AND CONTINUING SUPPORT  
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TO THE UN IN CARRYING OUT THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

ISSUE 4 - RHODESIA:

-- THE UNITED STATES AND THE UK REMAIN COMMITTED TO OUR JOINT PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD BRING TOGETHER THE EXTERNAL

NATIONALISTS WHO HAVE FORMED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, AND IAN

SMITH AND THE BLACK LEADERS WHO HAVE JOINED HIM IN THE  
MARCH 3 SALISBURY AGREEMENT FOR AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT."

-- OUR JOINT PROPOSALS CALL FOR FREE ELECTIONS, AN  
IMPARTIAL ADMINISTRATION DURING THE ELECTION PERIOD, AND  
A CONSTITUTION PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS,  
WHITE AND BLACK.

-- IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THE PARTIES CAN BE BROUGHT  
TOGETHER TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT BASED ON THESE  
PRINCIPLES, OR ANY OTHER ARRANGEMENT THAT ALL CAN  
ACCEPT AS FAIR AND EQUITABLE.

-- OUR PROPOSED APPROACH HOLDS NO GUARANTEE OF SUCCESS,  
BUT WE CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THAT IT IS MORE PROMISING  
THAN THE "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT," WHICH FROM THE OUTSET  
APPEARED INADEQUATE TO THE TASK OF BRINGING ABOUT A  
CEASEFIRE AND A RAPID AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO  
MAJORITY RULE.

-- WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE INDICATIONS THAT THE "INTERNAL  
SETTLEMENT" IS FAILING, AND THAT THE SALISBURY PARTIES  
WILL HAVE CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY IN HOLDING TO THE  
RECENTLY ANNOUNCED SCHEDULE FOR ELECTIONS TO BE HELD IN  
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EARLY DECEMBER.

-- WE HAVE INDICATIONS THAT THE VARIOUS PARTIES ARE  
PUTTING OUT FEELERS AND SHOWING SOME INTEREST IN SEEKING  
A BROADER-BASED SOLUTION.

-- OUR AIM REMAINS TO BRING THE VARIOUS PARTIES TOGETHER.  
TO THIS END, UK AND US REPRESENTATIVES GRAHAM AND LOW  
ARE RESUMING THEIR SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS.

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## Message Attributes

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